



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF ANARCHISTS.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE DUKE OF ARCOS, SPANISH ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY TO
THE UNITED STATES.

SPAIN'S experience with anarchists seems to have demonstrated one thing—the difficulty, the impossibility almost, of preventing those overt acts which have made anarchy the most detested form of political agitation extant. Repressive measures of the most severe order have had the effect of driving a great many of the malcontents out of Spain and of scattering their forces. But it has seemed impossible to devise any scheme of law that will prevent assassination or secure immunity from individual outrages. The great body of anarchists are, no doubt, free from the desire to commit murder. They are intelligent enough to appreciate that nothing hurts their cause so much as assassination. The trouble, then, is not in controlling them *en masse*, but in locating and controlling the individual fanatics in their ranks who look upon murder as a holy rite. It is inevitable that such men should constantly be developed by the spread of anarchistic theories. When you preach the unrighteousness of all law, the outrage of majority rule, and the divine right of the individual, it is natural that some misguided person should rise here and there to take this doctrine literally, and to come to the logical conclusion that it is his right to act as judge, jury and executioner. Naturally, then, murder follows the spread of anarchy as fire follows the touch of a match. The trouble is that no one can know where the match may be touched. The very fact that the anarchists generally are harmless enough, and, in the narrow sense, remain within the pale of the law, creates the difficulty of the situation. The anarchist who is a mere visionary and theorist cannot be separated, before the act, from his violent brother who

carries the theories of the cult as he understands them into effect. In this particular, anarchists are somewhat like wild animals. They have no general standard. Unlike almost any other class, they cannot be treated as a body. It is a fundamental creed of their order that each individual is a law unto himself; and, therefore, each must be judged and handled separately. This renders concerted or general action against them most difficult, and tends to make futile the adoption against them of such preventive measures as may be employed with some assurance of success against every other class of dangerous agitators and law-breakers.

It has been suggested by at least one writer on the subject (Emanuel, in *"Anarchie und Seine Heilung"*) that anarchy might be wiped out if all anarchists were classed as lunatics and treated accordingly. Alienists are agreed that there is no such thing as a harmless lunatic. They say a man who has one delusion to-day may develop another to-morrow in an entirely different direction, and that direction may be homicidal mania. Accordingly, they declare that, for the protection of society, all lunatics should be locked up in an asylum until cured, the "harmless ones" along with the others. Similarly, this writer proposes that all anarchists should be confined in asylums until cured of their mania.

This, like other remedies against anarchy, is very well in theory, but in practice it would cause more trouble even than the most violent of their misdeeds. Once the custom of locking up ladies and gentlemen who advocate "advanced" theories of government and sociology was inaugurated, it would not take us very long to get back to the condition peculiar to the Middle Ages when rulers were in the habit of putting obnoxious subjects who demanded political advancement in filthy dungeons and keeping them there until they rotted.

Most of the philosophical writers on anarchy have given it as their belief that education will cure the evil; that when the masses of the people everywhere are given opportunity for mental advancement we will not be troubled with assassins. These men apparently lose sight of the fact that it is only since education has become general that anarchy has come into the world. Almost without exception every anarchist who has turned assassin has been a workman whose education has been far better than that of his fellows. In the eighteenth century, when the working peo-

ple were like animals, perfectly content to be fed and to lie in the sun, there were no assassins in their ranks worth mentioning. As education spread among them they learned to see the inequality of things in this world, and to grope in a blind way for improvement. Unfortunately, education has not progressed far enough with these people to make it clear to them that their remedy does not lie in assassination. It is the half-education that is doing the mischief among the workingmen who are tainted with anarchy. It develops their receptive powers without proportionately developing their reasoning powers.

Education may ultimately kill that form of anarchy that finds expression in murder, but it must be a much more comprehensive education than is available now to the average man and woman among the masses, even in the most advanced countries. The anarchists are a strange, oblique people, and no amount of education seems able to cure them of their peculiar way of looking at things, for among them we often find men of classical learning. These men, however, are never, it must be confessed, the ones who develop into assassins; but, in common with those who do, they are aiming at something undefinable. No one apparently knows what they want, least of all they themselves. As for the assassins in the ranks, they are utterly illogical. Every other class of political assassin has at least some definite, tangible object in view. He commits murder because he seeks to remove some particular ruler, or a member of some particular governing party or body. The anarchist assassin, however, murders simply at haphazard. He is not even as logical as were the Irish dynamiters, whose eccentric crimes at one time seemed to defy all logic and explanation. Investigation, however, showed that, in each case in which the Irish dynamiters exploded their bombs, they had some specific person in view or planned the destruction of some specific structure. Not so these anarchists. Take, for example, the outrages they committed in Spain in 1893, and the outrages that they are perpetrating from time to time to this day in Paris. They exploded bombs in a theatre in Barcelona which was filled with innocent men, women and children, none of whom were connected with the government which the agitators pretended they wished to destroy. In Paris they explode bombs in cafés frequented only by persons who work for a living, and who never had to do with the "ruling classes" or with government officials in their lives.

Then the assassination of the poor Empress of Austria! Here was a lovable, kind, gentle woman, who had absolutely no connection with politics, whose living or dying could not have the slightest effect on any one except the members of her immediate family and her friends. By what specious reasoning she was singled out for assassination by men professing to work for a different form of government and social order no man may even guess. What can you offer madmen who act thus as an inducement to refrain from their murderous course? What can you do or leave undone that would assure you against the commission of an act such as the one that robbed the United States of its chief executive? Here you have a country where anything may be achieved at the ballot box, where all institutions may be torn down and set up in a new form by the expressed will of the majority. Supposing that to-morrow all the riches of the country were redistributed equally among the people, such fanatics as the man who murdered the President would soon find new inequalities that to his diseased mind would justify murder.

If the anarchists were to be restrained from doing acts of violence by granting improved conditions and an advancing situation for the poor there could not possibly be any assassins among them to-day. Never in the world's history has social improvement been so rapid and so pronounced as within the past sixty years; and yet it is within that period that the percentage of political murders, or rather murder done in the name of politics, has been greatest. And it is also within that period that the political murders have been most illogical and most barren of results. Not one of the deaths wrought by the anarchists has brought about any change or social or political improvement. The only effect they have had, if any, has been to produce, for the time being, a check on the progress of liberality. Yet the murderers go steadily along; and, judging by experience, they will increase in proportion to the spread of knowledge, or rather half-knowledge, among the masses. That education will bring us relief in the end is comprehensible, but this relief can only come when general education passes the crude stage in which we find it to-day. We are everywhere making the most distinct progress along this line. The anarchist outrages are part of the price which we must pay for this progress. It is with social and political improvement as with physical improvement. The process is

full of danger while it is under way, and gives off certain noxious products which endanger health and often bring death. The planting of a new sewerage system means the upturning of soil soaked with disease germs. We know this to be a fact, and that fever and death lurk in the process. This does not deter us, however, from putting in the new sewerage. We keep our minds fixed on the future, and guard as well as we may against the dangers that menace us in the present. That view of anarchy is the most consoling one. We must look upon it as a noxious incident of the advance of civilization and the spread of education.

Some partial protection may be found in a proper police control, but this protection must always be unsatisfactory and incomplete. What, after all, is to be done to safeguard our rulers and ourselves against the attacks of men who are perfectly willing to die for what they consider their "cause." You cannot deal with them by making it hazardous for them to attempt murder. An anarchist who makes an attack with a knife, or a pistol, or a bomb means to kill. He knows that his own capture is inevitable and that his fate is fixed. To pass a law making an attempt on a ruler's life equivalent to murder does not solve the problem of protection even approximately. The penalty makes absolutely no difference to these deluded creatures who are bent on assassination. After the Barcelona outrages Spain adopted the most drastic measures in the hope that assassination could be stamped out. It was provided that any man responsible for explosions likely to cause death or serious bodily injury should be executed or sentenced to penal servitude for life. Severe sentences were provided for all persons, and especially newspaper editors, who advocated or condoned bomb-throwing. Anarchist societies were declared illegal, and the government was empowered to dissolve them wherever found. Trial in each case was to be by court-martial, in order to secure more expeditious punishment. All these measures had apparently little or no preventive effect. Almost on top of them came repeated new attempts, the record of recklessness being finally topped with the assassination of Canovas in 1897 by the anarchist Angiolillo.

Spain was one of the last countries to feel the manifestations of anarchy. While Italy and France and some of the other nations had long been struggling with the question, Spain still remained free. It was not until the eighties that missionaries

were sent from the camps outside our borders to foment trouble among our workmen and plant the seeds of anarchy. Up to that time the extreme political agitators were all socialists, men of a radical type, but with no taint of assassination or violence. It did not require very long to convert the extreme element among the socialists to anarchistic doctrines, and soon thereafter anarchist outrages began to manifest themselves. It was not until 1892, however, that these outrages became so flagrant and so numerous that they riveted the attention not only of the nation, but of the entire world. Several attempts were made to blow up the residences of some of the leading statesmen, and efforts were also made to get at the person of the King. A number of bombs were exploded in the grounds of Canovas's residence, but the perpetrators of these outrages were not apprehended. Careful work on the part of the police revealed a number of extreme anarchistic groups, among whom there were several men on whom the crime of exploding bombs was saddled. These persons were located at Xeres. After a brief trial they were convicted and executed on February 10th, 1892. This execution was the signal for a general massing of strength by the anarchists, who vowed vengeance on the government. The police kept in close touch with the conspirators, and almost every week a raid was made on one den or another where the groups congregated. In the very teeth of this police activity the anarchists, on June 12th, 1893, exploded a bomb in a crowded plaza of Barcelona. On September 24th General Martinez Campos was conducting a review of troops at Barcelona, when two bombs were exploded under his horse. The General and four of his aides were severely wounded, and one policeman was killed. The bombs, it was shown, had been thrown by a cigarmaker named Pallas Latorre. This person was a fair example of the type of human beings developed by the theory of anarchy. He also illustrated the absolute recklessness and contempt for punishment characteristic of the political assassins. Instead of attempting to escape with the multitude after the explosion of the bombs, he stood his ground and gloried in his crime, calling on heaven and the people to witness his bravery that made it possible for one man to attack single-handed the flower of the Spanish army. Of course, he and his fellows were entirely oblivious to the absurdity and foolishness of his position. He looked upon himself as a "martyr to the cause." Latorre was

tried by court-martial and shot on October 6th. It was hoped that this speedy execution would have some effect in deterring others from committing outrages. But within a month, on November 7th, the massacre in the Liceo Theatre occurred at Barcelona. Two bombs were thrown and thirty people, all innocent spectators, were killed or fatally injured. The police after this put out a drag-net and made over a hundred arrests. While the authorities were most active another bomb was exploded on November 15th, in a plaza where thousands of people were gathered to cheer the troops that were departing for one of the colonies. Still another explosion of dynamite followed within a few days, this time in the barracks of Villaneuva.

The nation by this time had grown desperate and demanded summary vengeance on every one who was tainted in the slightest degree with anarchy. Hundreds of anarchists were gathered in and put on trial before a court-martial. Justice was meted out swiftly; and, while the evidence warranted few executions, hundreds among the extreme anarchists were transported.

In an effort to destroy the evil, root and branch, the Spanish Government, in December, asked the governments of the world for international action. A conference was held in Rome, but nothing positive came of this.

England, the most prolific breeding-ground of the anarchists, was not represented at all. Her statesmen refused to consider any proposition looking to concerted action, on the ground that a course might easily grow out of such an action that would abridge the personal and political liberty which that country had always maintained.

The wholesale deportation of the fanatics apparently had the effect of giving Spain some respite from their assaults, for it was not until the following year that another attack was made. This, fortunately, was ineffectual. It was aimed at the civil governor of Barcelona, and the perpetrator avowed that his deed was done in revenge for the execution of Pallas. This move was followed by further repressive measures on the part of the government, which resulted in the court-martialing and shooting of six of the ringleaders. For a while matters quieted down and police action relaxed, until the assassination of President Carnot in France, on June 24th, by the anarchist Caserio. This again roused Spain, as it did the whole world, to renewed activity against the anar-

chists. It also made clear once more the fanatical and desperate character of these people, and the hopelessness of relying upon ordinarily preventive measures for safety. Carnot, it will be remembered, was murdered in the midst of a regiment of cavalry. If the ruler of a nation is not safe from assassination when he is surrounded on all sides by soldiers who are faithful to him, then what means of precaution may be relied upon?

It was not until 1896 that there was a further violent manifestation of anarchy in Spain. On June 2d of that year, while General Despujols was reviewing the troops at Barcelona, a bomb was exploded under his horse. The General escaped with slight injury, but eight other persons were killed, and a large number were injured. Wholesale arrests were at once ordered by the police, and 380 avowed anarchists were taken into custody. They were carefully sifted until the guilty ones were located. These were put on trial before a court-martial, and eight were condemned to be shot. In addition, more special legislation was passed by the Cortes. It was provided that any person found guilty of promulgating anarchist propaganda of the violent type, and any one found guilty of concealing a plot for the explosion of a bomb or any other act of violence, should be punished by death or penal servitude for life. The ink on the signature to these laws was hardly dry before an attempt was made to blow up a train. Investigation showed this to be clearly an anarchist plot, and more arrests followed. There was more or less agitation after this, with sporadic outbreaks here and there; but no serious incident occurred until the assassination of Canovas on August 8th of the year following, 1897.

The foreign complications that came upon Spain not long after this event seem in a measure to have diverted the anarchists from their usual course of murder. It is too much to expect, however, that the quietness which Spain has enjoyed will endure for any length of time. The respite has had the usual effect with us, and the effect that it has with most other countries. It has put police surveillance very largely to sleep, and thus robbed us of about the only remedy that is efficient in keeping anarchists down. It is with Spain as with America. On the heels of a great calamity such as the murder of the President there is a great public outcry and a demand for repressive measures. The authorities everywhere are active and the anarchists are kept under close police

supervision. Suspected persons are carefully watched, and the laws against inflammatory speeches are rigidly enforced. Special legislation is planned, and under the spur of the public demand drastic laws are put on the statute-books. This continues until the public mind turns to other subjects. Then a period of inactivity ensues. It is at that point that the anarchists always get a fresh start.

International action that would bring about ceaseless surveillance and general co-operation between the heads of police all over the world would be an excellent thing. Whether any other effective measures could be taken by the governments acting in concert is a question. But the adoption of a general plan of police warfare could certainly be accomplished, and the gain would be undoubted. As I have said before, it would be too much to expect that this or any other course would effectively prevent the dastardly acts of assassination that from time to time shock the world. What could be done, however, would be the reduction of the chances of such events by keeping down the agitators who put the murderous ideas into the heads of weak-minded creatures. It is a peculiar thing, and one worthy of notice in that it may offer a suggestion, that the anarchist who turns assassin is never one of the leaders of the movement. The men who struck down the Empress of Austria, the Prime Minister of Spain and the President of France, like the murderer of President McKinley, had never been heard of until their infamous acts blazed their names all over the world. None of these men had any power of original thought. They were all inspired by others, by the speeches or writing of the leaders, the men and women who are known to the authorities, but who are shrewd enough to keep out of danger. The real guilt is with these leaders rather than with their instruments; and if they could be muzzled a long step would be taken in the right direction. Concord of action among the nations, along the line of extending and systematizing the police power against anarchists, would go far towards making this muzzling process possible. ¶ As it is now, the anarchist agitator who is driven out of one country by the authorities finds lodgment in another, and from that vantage point pushes his propaganda in print and by mail almost as actively as he could have done on the scene and in person. A system that would make the police all over the world a solid, interacting force

against them would deprive these anarchists of the immunity they now enjoy. By confining such international police co-operation entirely to persons well within the anarchist class, no danger to the general or political liberty of others could be apprehended. The police would keep themselves in close touch everywhere with the anarchist movement; they would exchange information bearing on the doings of the agitators, and have complete descriptions in every bureau of the men and women concerned.

Spain was profoundly affected by the news of Mr. McKinley's assassination. It has revived the old hatred and fear of anarchy, and put the public mind in a state in which any proposition for general action against anarchists would no doubt be hailed with satisfaction. The same sentiment, no doubt, exists in all the other countries. Even England would probably now consent to participate in a formal international conference on the subject. Comparatively, England has been reasonably free from internal anarchistic troubles, a fact which is due, no doubt, to the fact that under her institutions it is possible to conduct a perfect system of exportation of anarchists and anarchist materials into other countries. Notwithstanding this, however, and despite all the leniency shown these agitators, several attempts against the late Queen's life are on record, and the measure of gratitude of which anarchists are capable was pretty accurately shown by the assault made on King Edward during his visit to the Continent. It is not altogether improbable, therefore, that England would now listen to a proposition for an international arrangement that would permit police control and pursuit of suspected incendiaries all over the world. If such an arrangement should be perfected, the fearful crime of which Mr. McKinley was the victim, a crime that robbed the American people of one of its best beloved rulers, of one who in the opinion of his countrymen was a model of domestic and civic virtue, would, in a measure, bring its own atonement.

ARCOS.